Some Basic Realities Israel's Military Success Cannot Alter, Pps. 1-2-3

The War and the Reconciliation As the Greatest of the Hebrew Prophets Foresaw It

"And the land of Judah shall be a terror unto Egypt . . . And the Lord shall smite Egypt; he shall smite it and heal it . . . In that day shall there be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria; and the Assyrian shall come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria; and the Egyptians shall serve with the Assyrians. In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, even a blessing in the midst of the land; whom the Lord of Hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel my inheritance." —*Isaiah 19:17-25*

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The Harder Battle and the Nobler Victory

Israel's swift and brilliant military victory only makes its reconciliation with the Arabs more urgent. Its future and world peace call for a general and final settlement now of the Palestine problem. The cornerstone of that settlement must be to find new homes for the Arab refugees, some within Israel, some outside it, all with compensation for their lost lands and properties. The world Jewish community, already girding itself for a huge financial effort to aid Israel, should be thankful that its victory has come with so little loss of life or damage to either side. The same funds may now be diverted to a constructive and human cause. It was a moral tragedy—to which no Jew worthy of our best Prophetic tradition could be insensitive—that a kindred people was made homeless in the task of finding new homes for the remnants of the Hitler holocaust. Now is the time to right that wrong, to show magnanimity in victory, and to lay the foundations of a new order in the Middle East in which Israeli and Arab can live in peace.

The Only Way to Security

This alone can make Israel secure. This is the third Israeli-Arab war in 20 years. In the absence of a general settlement, war will recur at regular intervals. The Arabs will thirst for revenge. The Israeli will be tempted again to wage preventive war, as in 1956 and now again. The Israeli borders are so precarious, the communications between Jerusalem and the coast, on the coast between Tel Aviv and Haifa, and up the finger of Eastern Galilee, are so narrow, so easily cut, as to be untenable in static defensive warfare. A surprise attack would cut Israel into half a dozen parts. A long war woud be suicidal for a community of not much more than 2,000,000 Jews in a sea of 50,000,000 Arabs. Only total mobilization can defend it, and total mobilization is impossible for any extended term in Israel since it brings the wheels of the economy to a crawl. The strategic and demographic circumstances dictate blitzkrieg, and blitzkrieg is a dangerous gamble. To be forced to keep that weapon in reserve is ruinous.

It is ruinous financially and it is ruinous morally. It imposes a huge armament burden. It feeds an ever more intense and costly arms race, as each side seeks frantically for ever newer and more complex weapons. It brings with it a spiral of fear and hate. It creates within Israel the atmosphere of a besieged community, ringed by hostile neighbors, its back to the sea, skeptical with good reason of the world community, relying only on its own military strength, turning every man and woman into a soldier, regarding every Arab within it distrustfully as a potential Fifth Columnist, and glorying in its military strength. Chauvinism and militarism are the inescapable fruits. They can turn Israel into an Ishmael. They can create a minuscule Prussia, not the beneficent Zion for which the Prophets hoped and of which the Zionists once dreamed. The East will not be redeemed by turning it into a new Wild West, where Israel can rely only on a quick draw with a six-shooter.

In justice to Israel no one can forget the terrible history that has turned the Jewish State into a fighting community. Events still fresh in living memory illustrate how little reliance may be placed on the conscience of mankind. Long before the crematoria were built, in the six years of Nazi rule before World War II, refugees met a cold shoulder. Our State Department like the British Foreign Office distinguished itself in those years by its anemic indifference to the oppressed and its covert undertone of admiration for the Axis; our few anti-Fascist Ambassadors, like Dodd in Berlin and Bowers in Madrid, were treated miserably by the Department. The welcome signs in the civilized world were few, and even now if events were reversed and Israel were overrun it could expect little more than a few hand-wringing resolutions. Both sides

(Continued on Page Two)

Grim Summation After 18 Months in Vietnam

"This war is not being won, and by any reasonable estimate, it is not going to be won in the foreseeable future. It may be unwinnable . . . The Americans and the Saigon government have not been able to dispel what one official calls 'the revolutionary atmosphere'. It persists and it is the property of the Communists. Non-Communist Vietnamese refuse to place themselves in the center of the struggle . . . The roots of revolution are deep in the peasantry . . . The middle class sees the country being torn apart by a war machine fitted not to counter insurgency but for what Gen. Westmoreland correctly calls a war of attrition. To Vietnamese, it seems a case of killing a man in an auto accident to save him from cancer . . . 'If we keep on going like this,' said a young Marine lieutenant at the Demilitarized Zone last week, 'my kids are going to be fighting this war' . . . Half the province chiefs in the country are corrupt, half the Vietnamese army won't fight, so you bomb Hanoi."

—*Ward Just, from Saigon summing up his impressions after 18 months covering the war, in the* Washington Post, *Sunday, June 4.*

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(Continued from Page One)

would play up to the Arabs for their oil and their numbers. If the upshot of this new struggle is the expropriation of Western Europe's oil sources in the Middle East, it will only seem to history a giant retribution for the moral failure that forced the survivors of Hitlerism to seek a refuge in the inhospitable deserts, drawn by a pitiful mirage that pictured them as an ancestral home.

A Dangerous Precedent Indeed

The precedent of the cease-fire resolution at the UN *is* a most disturbing one. It accepts preventive war and allows the one which launched it to keep the fruits of aggression as a bargaining card. But Israel has a right to ask what the UN was prepared to do if Nasser had been able to carry out his threats of total war and the complete destruction of Israel. Who would have intervened in time? Who would take the survivors? These are the bitter thoughts which explain Israel's belief that it can rely on itself alone. But to understand this is not to accept it. The challenge to the world is the creation of a better order and first of all to remove the Middle East from the arena of great power rivalry; this alone can keep it from becoming sooner or later the starting point of another World War. The challenge to Israel is to conquer something more bleak and forbidding even than the Negev or Sinai, and that is the hearts of its Arab neighbors. This would be greater and more permanent than any military victory. Abba Eban exultantly called the sweep of Israel's armies "the finest day in Israel's modern history." The finest day will be the day it achieves reconciliation with the Arabs.

To achieve it will require an act of sympathy worthy of the best in Jewry's Biblical heritage. It is to understand and forgive an enemy, and thus convert him into a friend. A certain obtuseness was unfortunately evident in Abba Eban's brilliant presentation of Israel's cause to the Security Council. To rest a case on Jewish homelessness and refuse at the same time to see the Arabs who have been made homeless is only another illustration of that tribal blindness which plagues the human race and plunges it constantly into bloodshed. The first step toward reconciliation is to recognize that Arab bitterness has real and deep roots. The refugees lost their farms, their villages, their offices, their cities and their country. It is human to prefer not to look at the truth, but only in facing the problem in all its three dimensional frightful reality is there any hope of solving it without new tragedy.

Just as Jews everywhere sympathize with their people, so Arabs everywhere sympathize and identify with theirs. They feel that anti-Semitic Europe solved its Jewish problem at Arab expense. To a rankling sense of injustice is now added a third episode in military humiliation. Zionist propaganda always spoke of the role that the Jews could play in helping to modernize the Arab world. Unless firm steps are taken now to a general and generous settlement, this will become true in a sense never intended. The repercussions of the 1948 war set off seismic tremors that brought a wave of nationalist revolutions in Egypt, Syria and Iraq. The repercussions of this new defeat will lead a new generation of Arabs to modernize and mobilize for revenge inspired (as are the Jews) by memories of past glory.

Considering their numbers and resources and the general rise of all the colonial people in this period, the Arabs must eventually prevail. Those who shudder to think that Israel, with all it cost in devotion and all it won honorably in marsh and desert, might be destroyed after a short life as were the Maccabean and Crusader kingdoms before it, all who want it to live and grow in peace, must seek to avoid such a solution. Israel cannot live very long in a hostile Arab sea. It cannot

In Salute to Captain Levy

It is not necessary to feel that all Green Berets are monsters to honor the impulse that led Capt. Howard Levy to refuse to teach them medicine. This elite corps of counter-revolutionaries has its origin in French theory about la guerre revolutionnaire which sprang up in the wake of Dienbienphu, was tried in Algeria, and has since been abandoned by France. Not all the Frenchmen who applied it in Algeria were monsters either. There were misguided idealists among them as there are among our own Green Berets. But the whole idea of reconciling Algerians to colonial domination by digging a few wells, treating a few sick children, and building a few schools was pathetic nonsense at best. At worst it degenerated into counter-terror, and torture. So it is in Vietnam. What we call "nation-building" is nation-destroying. The Green Berets are not only its most prestigious symbol but a model for similar action elsewhere in the world. In refusing to collaborate with it, Dr. Levy lived up to the Hippocratic oath, and history will vindicate and applaud him.

The Next Terrible Escalation If Peace Is Not Made Between Arabs and Israeli

LORD CHALFONT (Minister of State, Foreign Affairs) —There was a more serious menace lurking just below the surface. Israel was one of the most advanced countries in the world in development of nuclear technology. He had no doubt that Israel would be in a position to explode a nuclear device within a very few years of taking the political decision to do so. If this was done, everything would be violently and irrevocably changed. Whatever we say now, if nuclear weapons come into the picture there can be very little doubt that we would all become involved in nuclear war.

LORD CARRINGTON (Cons) — If Israel felt herself isolated and had suffered a reverse of considerable magnitude, there would be increasing temptation for her to develop her own nuclear weapons as a deterrent, and perhaps in the last resort to use them. If she let it be known that she intended to do this, the consequences would be catastrophic. He hoped this would be forcefully brought home at the United Nations and that the possible consequences of inaction would be underlined. For it might be that out of this crisis the most dangerous result would be the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

THE EARL OF AVON (Anthony Eden)—Lord Chalfont's warning was fully justified. I feel myself . . . very much in the 1930s at present. If we were to try to do something, as we did in the 1930s in respect to Czechoslovakia, at the expense of Israel, we would deserve all we got, and all we got would be the very nuclear danger to which Lord Chalfont referred. I think it has a message for us all—that we must not only do justice, but must take our part in seeing that justice is done, or we shall suffer as others will suffer too. Perhaps the most tragic aspect was the attempt to make a holy war out of the situation. It was terrible that it should be thought a Godly deed to butcher a whole people, or to call by radio for genocide.

—House of Lords debate, The Times *(London) June 2*

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set its face against that renaissance of Arabic unity and civilization which began to stir a generation ago. It cannot remain a Western outpost in an Afro-Asian world casting off Western domination. It cannot repeat on a bigger scale the mistakes it made in Algeria, where Israel and Zionism were allies of Soustelle and Massu and the French rightists. It must join the Third World if it is to survive. No quickie military victories should blind it to the inescapable—in the long run it cannot defeat the Arabs. It must join them. The Jews played a great role in Arabic civilization in the Middle Ages. A Jewish State can play a similar role in a new Semitic renaissance. This is the perspective of safety, of honor, and of fraternity.

Make a Friend of Nasser

One crucial step in this direction is, in the very hour of victory, to heal wounded Arab pride as much as possible, and in particular to reach a new understanding with Nasser. Both American policy and Israeli policy have sacrificed long range wisdom to short-sighted advantage in dealing with the Egyptian leader. He is a military dictator, he wages his own Vietnam in Yemen, he uses poison gas there against his own people, he runs a police state. But he is also the first Egyptian ruler to give Egypt's downtrodden *fellahin* a break. It is fascinating to recall that Egypt has been ruled by foreigners almost since the days when David and Solomon ruled in Israel. Not until Nasser's time, and the eviction of the British and French at Suez, have the Egyptians at long last become the master in their own ancient house. Nasser's program has given Egypt its first taste of reform, on the land, in the factory, in health and educational services. His accomplishments certainly surpass those of a comparable military figure, Ayub in Pakistan. The U.S. oil interests, Johnson's animosity and Israel's ill-will have been united in recent years in efforts to get rid of him. They have all favored feudal monarchs like Saudi Arabia's whose day is done. It is Nasser who represents the future and who can create the internal stability so necessary to peace. The alternative if he is overthrown will ultimately be some far more fanatical and less constructive force like the Moslem Brotherhood. If war makes sense only as an extension of politics by other means then Israel's victory will make political sense only if it leads to a new era of friendly relations with Nasser. This is the biggest challenge of all to objectivity and insight in both Washington and Jerusalem.

The bigger picture as we write is ominous. The price of bogging down American military power in a peripheral and irrelevant theatre like Vietnam is a huge shift in the balance of power in Europe and the Middle East. If the Arabs go through with nationalization of oil resources the effect on the pound sterling will be catastrophic. This will be another giant step in the disintegration of West European empire. Western Europe in a sense has already lost the third world war. To avert its outbreak steps are needed as quickly as possible to reduce world tension. The U.S. could contribute mightily by calling off our barbarous and futile bombing of North Vietnam and making peace in South Vietnam. One crisis at a time is enough, indeed too much. The superpowers have taken a first step in the UN cease-fire resolution to damp down the dangers of a wider war in the Middle East, at least temporarily. Can't the same initiative be widened to the Far East? *6:30 a.m., June 7*

A New Areopagitica Out of Moscow

Solzhenitsyn's appeal to the Union of Soviet Writers was smuggled out to France, published by Le Monde (May 31) and reprinted June 5 in the New York Times. There are passages in it whose anguished truth will live forever in the literature of struggle for freedom of expression. The author of One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich **has written a letter which stands in the ever-fresh tradition that reaches back to Milton's** Areopagitica **and Spinoza's** Tractatus Theologico-Politicus. **As the Soviet Union approaches its 50th birthday, it could take no more fitting measure than abolition of censorship, that obscene blight on the idea of socialism. Solzhenitsyn lays his stress on the social function of literature. Literature, he writes, "that dares not pass on to society its pains and fears, that does not warn in time against threatening moral and social dangers, such literature does not deserve the name of literature." Soviet "socialist realism" has been neither realist nor socialist but abject submission to the bureaucracy's philistine desire for prettyfication. Solzhenitsyn has written a burning memorial to the great writers who ended up among the dishonored dead in Stalin's concentration camps. How long will his successors fail to see the evils that might have been avoided if they had been free to speak?**

An Estimate With Which Most Washington's China Watchers Agree

Hong Kong — Communist China's downward spiral in recent weeks toward anarchy and warlordism is viewed here as a strong argument for another try at negotiations in Vietnam. Veteran American and British analysts in Hong Kong are agreed that even the start of peace talks would enormously strengthen the hand of Mao Tse-tung's opponents . . .

They are now convinced political moderates and economic pragmatists are in the vast majority in China's badly shaken Communist party hierarchy, but are too weak to stem a seemingly irreversible slide toward disintegration until Mao is either dead or deposed . . .

Against this picture of a drastically altered China, analysts are convinced an American ground invasion of North Vietnam is the worst thing that could possibly happen. They maintain anything that could be made to look like a threat to China's national independence runs the danger of cutting the ground from under the moderates and rallying 700 million patriotic Chinese behind a frustrated, wildly idealistic and fanatic 73-year-old man . . .

The Russians have been saying all winter and spring they think Hanoi can be persuaded to negotiate a peace settlement based on the continued existence of a non-Communist neutral South Vietnam. The key issue, according to Communist informants last March in Saigon, is whether the U.S. will guarantee the survival of some popular front movement behind which the Communist organization can be salvaged to operate legally and compete at the polls in 1971. If such a compromise were accepted, the U.S. might have to provide refuge somewhere for those Vietnamese who feel they could not live with such a settlement . . .

What alternative foreign policy the [Chinese] moderates would pursue was hinted at this week when Peking attacked President Liu Shao-chi, for seeking reconciliation with the West, including the U.S.; abandoning "people's wars" and accepting peaceful co-existence.

—*Richard Critchfield in Washington* Sunday Star *June 4*

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But An SDS-er Sees "Marches" Diverting Energies from the Task of Selling Peace

Dr. Otto Nathan Says We Did the Peace Movement A Great Disservice

"*Dear Editor:* Your report about the recent Washington conference of the Spring Mobilization Committee gives a regrettably inaccurate account. You call the postponement of a decision on political action the outstanding deadlock of the conference, obviously implying that various other deadlocks occurred. Since you did not mention at all the many positive decisions for future activities, you are giving the impression that the Conference was completely fruitless. Yet the Conference established a record none of us needs to be ashamed of: it decided to organize a new mass demonstration in Washington in October and to coordinate local activities throughout the country on July 4, August 6 and Labor Day week-end; it moved into new ground by its decisions on draft resistance and non-violence, and reorganized and improved its own administrative and decision-making structure. The decisions on draft-resistance and non-violence are a significant departure with great potentialities.

Black Racists An Insignificant Handful

"It is true that no decision was made on political action, which chiefly means action with regard to the 1968 presidential election and which, in my view—not shared by many—was the least urgent business of the Conference. The pertinent proposals were tabled but merely because adjournment had become unavoidable and no time was left. All these decisions were made after long, partly heated, but always orderly discussion in which every conceivable position was expressed. You were completely misinformed by being advised of a 'dominant feeling' of futility, of Lilliputian all-night caucuses of far-out leftists and far-out Black Nationalists, and of a fight for control of the peace movement. Anyone who knows *this* peace movement knows that no one single group, nor several single groups together, can possibly 'control' it. I deplore, as you do, the hatred of all that is white which was expressed by a few Negroes. But you exaggerate their significance tremendously by suggesting that this is possibly a way to kill the peace movement. These were a handful among 700 delegates.

"You are doing a great disservice to the peace movement by calling the Washington Conference 'an unrepresentative bedlam.' I wonder whether a similarly representative peace meeting was ever before held in America. The Spring Mobilization Committee, a non-exclusive organization modeled after the Fifth Avenue Parade Committee in New York City, demonstrated its great potentialities on April 15. No one should try to minimize its significance or undermine its continued existence. It is still badly needed." *Otto Nathan*

[Our comment on the Mobilization had only elicited four letters by Saturday, June 3, the end of the week in which it appeared. Two private notes from old-timers were approving. The most important letter was from Dr. Otto Nathan, the respected economist and Albert Einstein's literary executor. The fourth letter, from a member of Students for A Democratic Society, explained why SDS opposed the Spring marches. "Too often we find ourselves completely alienating people who want to oppose the war but are not comfortable about demonstrations and finding ourselves with no time to go out and reach as yet uninformed people and get them to oppose the war. But the 'Trots,' SWP, DuBois Club people were obsessed with their mobilization. The S.F. mobilization was a joke. Radicals, are they? They refused to sponsor civil disobedience. They wouldn't let people have a mass card burning. They staged a march to a silly football stadium and had peaceniks sitting for hours staring at peaceniks and listening to too many speakers. The Mobilization siphoned off much money and energy from efforts locally to reach really new people."]

From a Reader in the Army Reserve

"Dear Sir—In your past two issues you have commented quite negatively over the Government not taking some action to call to active duty the Army Reserve forces. You should know more about the Privates and Corporals who make up such forces. To most of us, the Reserves simply represent a substitute for going to prison or Canada. The Army knows (evidently you do not) that we are an alternative form of draft dodgers. I have served (involuntarily) for two years in the ROTC in College and am now completing my final sixth year in the Reserves. For nearly 8 years now I have been in the direct shadow of the military and I am sick of it."

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